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The American Observer

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A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

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U. S. and Argentina at Brink of Crisis

Both Countries Are Unwilling to Yield to the Other on Issues Dividing Them

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS MAY COME

Such a Policy, While Hurting Argentina Most, Would Also be Felt by Allies

The relations between the United States and Argentina, which had been far from cordial, are now more severely strained as a result of a statement issued last week by Secretary of State Cordell Hull. Mr. Hull explained why the United States government refuses to recognize the present government of Argentina, headed by President Farrell. Not only did the Secretary of State give the reasons why we do not recognize the Farrell government, but he advised the other republics of the Western Hemisphere to maintain a policy of non-recognition. He condemned the Argentine government in outspoken terms, such as may generally be found only in a declaration of war.

Hull's Charge

The Secretary's charge was that the Argentine government had violated its pledges to go along with the American republics in opposing Axis aggression, that it had refused to follow the pledged policy of hemisphere solidarity, and that on the contrary, it had aided the Nazi cause.

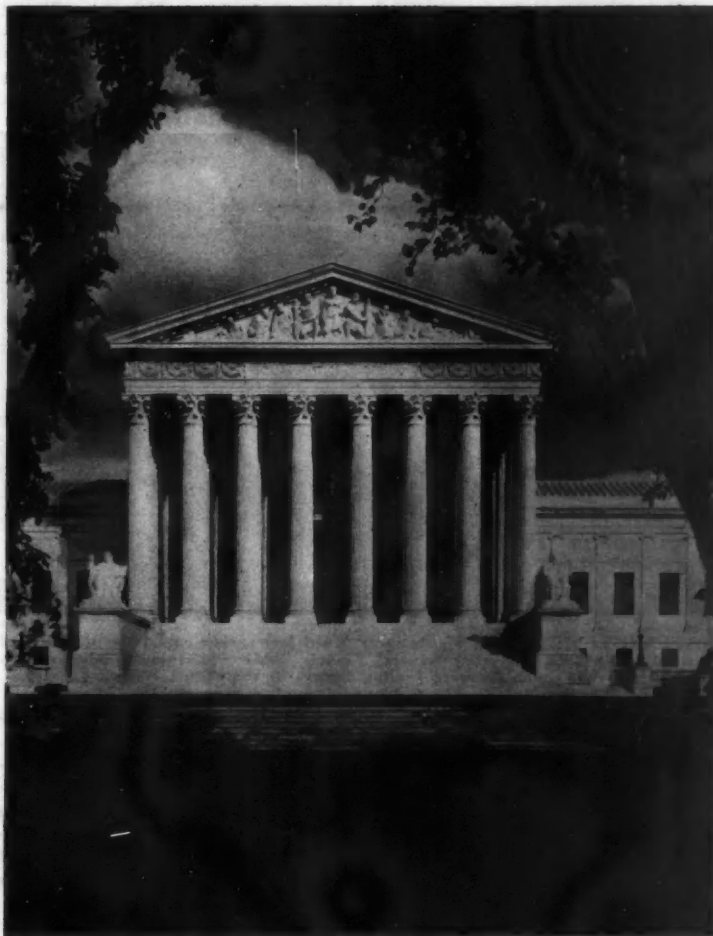
Argentina replied to this attack by recalling its ambassador to Washington. The Argentine foreign minister, General Orlando Peluffo, issued a statement in which he denied Secretary Hull's charges and insisted that Argentina has been friendly to the Allies, and that it is entitled to recognition by the American republics.

Secretary Hull reviewed the efforts of the American republics to present a united front against Axis aggression. He recalled that in 1938 these nations had met in Lima, had reaffirmed their solidarity, and "proclaimed their intention to make that solidarity effective in the event that the peace, security, or territorial integrity of any American nation were threatened."

In 1939, upon the outbreak of war, the American republics met in Panama and restated their determination to act unitedly in case of attack. They met again in July 1940, after France had been invaded. This time, the meeting was in Havana. It was there pledged that "any attempt on the part of a non-American state against the integrity or violability of the territory, the sovereignty, or the political independence of an American state shall be considered as an act of aggression against the states which sign this declaration."

Again in January 1942, after the Axis powers had made war upon the United States, the American foreign

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The United States Supreme Court—guardian of freedom

The Dead Will Not Sleep

The following quotation is from an editorial written by Howard Fast, author of "Citizen Tom Paine." This editorial is being widely publicized by the International Latex Corporation in the form of an advertisement. We are passing it on to those of our readers who may not have seen it:

There was never a time like this; in all the history of mankind, in all the thousands of years he has walked upon the earth, there was never a time like this.

There was never so much violent death, so much suffering, so much hideous cruelty; and there was never so much hope. . . .

There was never a time before when the aim and end of a struggle was so clearly indicated, so proudly indicated; not the victory of this nation or that nation, not the freedom of this people or that people, but the liberation of a whole world, the brotherhood of all mankind.

There was never a time before when such armies marched, all under the same banner, black men and white men, yellow men and brown, Christian and Jew and Moslem and Buddhist. . . .

There was never a time before when we knew our enemies so well, saw them so clearly, understood the evil they stood for and the suffering they wrought. . . .

There was never a time before when, during a struggle, the future defined itself so clearly and hopefully; a promise that is not for one nation but for all nations; a promise of peace for many generations; a promise of freedom for all the oppressed, freedom from fear, from hunger, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion.

No, there was never such a time as this before. And if we fail now, there may never be such a time as this again—if we listen to the voices of defeat, to those who would divide us, to those who calumniate our allies, to those who say, "A little less, a little more slowly."

This is a time for more, not for less. This is a time for the last terrible effort, for the blow that will strike down the fascist beast forever. . . .

If we fail now, the dead will not sleep, and the ground they wet with their blood will never be ours. If we fail now, the future will never forgive us.

Civil Rights Record During War Praised

Civil Liberties Union Finds Few Wartime Breaches of Individual Freedom

FREE SPEECH AND PRESS PREVAIL

Nation Divided, However, Over Certain Issues Involving Civil Liberties

It is an unfortunate fact that the large majority of American newspapers neglect to publicize many basically important events because they do not happen to be of a spectacular character. Unless a news development is of such a nature as to stir interest among average newspaper readers, the press is inclined to give insufficient, if any, coverage to it.

A very good illustration of the point is this: A short time ago, the American Civil Liberties Union published its annual report on the state of civil liberties in our nation after two and a half years of war. Despite the fact that we are engaging in a mighty struggle for freedom of our own country and of people throughout the world, little attention was paid to this report, which provides a comprehensive picture of how well we are preserving our vital civil liberties at home during this crisis.

The American Civil Liberties Union is devoted wholly to the task of protecting individual rights and freedom against any form of tyranny. The Union fights for any person or group of persons that it feels is being persecuted. It asks for the same rights for the poor and the wealthy; for conservatives and radicals; for those who espouse popular causes or unpopular causes; for employers, workers, farmers, and all occupational groups; for people of all races and religions. In other words, the Civil Liberties Union has dedicated itself to the cause of carrying out the pledges of individual protection which are embodied in the American Constitution, particularly the section known as the Bill of Rights.

Room for Disagreement

There is often room for disagreement with the position taken by the American Civil Liberties Union in concrete cases. There are many borderline cases where it may be argued that the carrying of individual freedom to extremes will conflict with community or national welfare. Critics of the Union feel that it often goes too far in looking out for the interests of individuals and neglects to give proper consideration to the nation as a whole. Supporters, of course, deny this to be the case and praise the Union for championing the cause of persecuted individuals in all walks of life.

Whatever one may or may not think of the American Civil Liberties Union, it is generally regarded as the outstanding organization in the country of its kind. Its annual report on civil

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Report on Civil Liberties

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liberties, therefore, should receive the attention of all informed citizens.

In general, the Union is very optimistic with the situation that it finds in this country at the present time. Here are some of its conclusions:

"The third year of the war has maintained the extraordinary and unexpected record of the first two years in freedom of debate and dissent on all public issues and in the comparatively slight resort to war-time measures of control or repression of opinion. Indeed, as in the first two years, more issues of civil liberty have arisen from the continuing conflicts in our democracy than from the war itself. And in the field of democratic struggle, marked advances have been made under the impact of the professed aims of the war, particularly in meeting the claims of racial minorities.

"The incidents and issues arising during the year directly out of war controls have been even fewer than in the first two years of the war. The voluntary codes affecting press and radio have been administered with only occasional complaints by newspaper correspondents. . . . No publications have been barred during the past year by the Post Office Department for obstruction of the war, and two whose second-class privileges were previously revoked have had them restored. The government has brought charges involving speech or publication under the espionage and selective service acts in only a score of cases in the entire war and only in two within the last year.

Other Progress Noted

"In the lesser fields of civil liberty not associated with the war, progress was made in many directions. No case of mob violence has occurred following the early summer race riots of 1943 though tense and explosive conditions mark many localities; reported lynchings were reduced to one; no noteworthy interference with public assembly was reported save in the use of public auditoriums in two cities by Gerald L. K. Smith; only two cases arose of the dismissal of college teachers for their opinions; the legal rights of Jehovah's Witnesses were established on firmer ground than ever, with one more favorable decision by the Supreme Court; and no proceedings were brought against Communists, who now conform to all leading majority dogmas.

"It may appear that this brief survey of civil liberty in a tense and critical year of war is overly optimistic in view of the enormous war-time powers exercised by the government, the wholesale charges of bureaucratic domination, the impending threats of civilian and post-war military conscription, and the uncertainties both of a presidential election year and the upset conditions consequent upon the not unlikely conclusion of the war within the next year.

"But the plain factual record justifies our conclusions as to the state of civil liberty, however ominous or adverse certain tendencies appear. . . . We have found many more incidents for commendation than reproof, and of greater import."

After summarizing its general conclusions, the American Civil Liberties Union points out what it considers to be the favorable and unfavorable developments of the past year in the realm of civil liberties. These are some of the cases which the Union

feels have been dealt with in a satisfactory manner:

1. The decision of the United States Supreme Court outlawing exclusively white primaries in the South.

2. The decision of the U. S. Supreme Court holding that a conscientious objector cannot be inducted into the army save by voluntarily taking the oath of induction.

3. The decision of the U. S. Supreme



GOVERNMENT SEIZURE of Montgomery Ward last spring raised the question of constitutional rights. Attorney General Francis Biddle (left) and Undersecretary of Commerce Wayne Taylor were leading figures in the case.

Court voiding a Florida law penalizing Negroes for failure to work out debts.

4. The decision of the U. S. Supreme Court overruling the South Carolina Supreme Court by holding that a Jehovah's Witness who earns his living by selling religious literature is not subject to a local licensing ordinance.

5. The indictment at the instance of the Department of Justice under the federal civil rights statute of lynchings in Mississippi and Illinois.

6. The decision of the federal Cir-

lems of the relocation of the population of Japanese ancestry by the War Relocation Authority in the face of prejudice, opposition and criticism.

8. The findings of the Fair Employment Practice Committee condemning southern railroads and railroad brotherhoods for denying Negroes employment opportunities.

9. The suspension by the War Department of the orders for moving citizens inland from the east and west coasts on the ground of military security.

10. The repeal by Congress of the Chinese Exclusion Acts and the es-

these men for useful civilian work.

4. The refusal of the Navy Department to admit to any branch of the service Japanese-Americans of military age or in the auxiliary service any Japanese-American women.

5. The prosecutions by the Department of Justice under the espionage act for war-time speeches and publications by members of obscure religious sects, in the absence of any showing of clear and present danger to the conduct of war.

6. The use of the peace-time sedition law of 1940 against thirty persons on trial in the District of Columbia for seditious conspiracy before Pearl Harbor.

7. The refusal of the Senate to consider on its merits the House bill to outlaw the poll tax as a condition of voting for federal officials.

8. The failure of Congress to provide an adequate system of absentee voting by men and women in the armed services.

9. The action of Congress in removing from the federal payrolls three employees (Prof. Robert Morris Lovett, Goodwin Watson, and William E. Dodd) held by a House committee to have associated with Communist united fronts.

10. The unwarranted attacks by the Dies Committee on the loyalty of Japanese-Americans and on the handling of the problem of resettlement by the War Relocation Authority.

11. The action of local authorities in many parts of the country discriminating against Japanese-Americans in employment, residence and the ownership of property. . . .

Sedition Trial

As we stated earlier in this article, there is room for honest difference of opinion over certain of the conclusions of the Civil Liberties Union. Perhaps the biggest issue it raises is this: It is inclined to be critical of the United States Department of Justice for its actions in bringing to trial the 30 seditionists, whose case is now before a federal court in the nation's capital. First of all, the Union does not believe that these people should have been tried en masse. Instead, it thinks that the defendants should have been tried individually.

In addition, the Union believes the Government's case is weakened by the fact that its evidence against the seditionists is based on their activities before the war began. The Union feels that a peace-time sedition act is dangerous, offering a threat to freedom of speech, press, and assembly. Since the Government does not have evidence to prove that the 30 accused seditionists actually conspired with the enemy during the war, the Union looks unfavorably upon the trial, although it is reserving its final opinion on this matter until after the case has been settled in the courts.

Many people who are just as anxious as the ACLU to preserve a maximum of civil liberties for the American people do not agree with it in the case of the accused seditionists. They argue that the 30 people who are on trial were part of a dangerous Fifth Column movement in this country before the war. By word or action, all or most of them have made it clear that they do not believe in democracy. They insist on free speech and action for themselves in order to gain power, after which they would destroy the very freedom which enabled them to come into power.

Those people who favor the sedition trial contend that the time has come for us to reexamine our ideas on civil

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INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS. A conflict between national security and civil liberties arises when it becomes necessary to place restrictions upon or to imprison persons who might work against the nation in war time.

circuit Court of Appeals at Philadelphia reaffirming the right of free speech for employers in discussing unions with employees, when found not to be coercive.

7. The declarations of the President and Secretary Ickes in support of the loyalty of the Japanese American minority, of fair treatment for them and of restoration of their right to return to the Pacific Coast as soon as military security permits; and the humane handling of the difficult prob-

establishment of a limited quota and the right to become citizens.

After citing these and other encouraging examples of progress in the field of civil liberties, the Union lists the developments which it considers to be unfavorable. Following are some of the cases of which it is critical:

1. The refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court to review the conviction under the peace-time sedition act of 1940 of eighteen members of the Socialist



Workers' Party tried at Minneapolis, 1941.

2. The decision of the U. S. Supreme Court denying conscientious objectors an opportunity to challenge, draft board errors and bias as a defense in criminal prosecutions.

3. The administration of the Selective Service act affecting conscientious objectors so as to result in the imprisonment of over 3,000 men, and the failure of the parole system to effect the release of a substantial number of

Story of Magna Charta and Liberty

Clarence C. Dill served as United States senator from the state of Washington during the years 1923 to 1935. Since leaving public office, he has devoted part of his time to writing about our government in such a way that the average reader can obtain a clear picture of its establishment, development, and structure. He has written a splendid book entitled *Our Government* (published by Clarence C. Dill, 601 Hutton Building, Spokane, Washington).

One chapter of this book, which we are quoting in large part, describes in simple, vivid style the dramatic struggle which has taken place through the centuries to achieve individual rights and freedom from any form of tyranny. Mr. Dill emphasizes that we must go back to a story of English history more than 700 years ago to understand how deeply our present-day civil liberties are rooted in the past:

It is the story of how the barons, the clergy, and the yeomen of England in 1215 compelled King John to grant them certain rights and liberties which Englishmen did not then possess.

The document by which they forced King John to grant these rights and liberties was called Magna Charta. Magna is a Latin word meaning "great," and Charta, another Latin word meaning "charter," or "written statement of rights and liberties." So Magna Charta means Great Charter.

John was king of England from 1199 to 1216. He was always quarreling. He quarreled with the church, with the barons, and with France. He continually persecuted the people. He forced his subjects to pay such large sums of money as taxes that even the wealthy barons had no money left for themselves. He named the clergy himself and seized the money which the people paid to support the churches.

King John's Tactics

He charged the merchants and tradesmen enormous fees for the right to do business. If they failed to pay, he arrested them and held them in jail without trial. Even if they secured a trial, it was before a judge whom the king appointed and controlled.

He arrested all classes of people on false and trivial charges. He kept them in prison as long as he desired. Often the only way they could get out of jail was by giving the king presents of food, clothing, horses, money, chickens, or fish.

He taxed the yeomen, small farmers, and even the serfs. If they did not pay, he took their carts, their horses, and their tools, so they could no longer make a living. . . .

After a few years all classes of the people turned against the king, even though he had all the soldiers and most of the money. In 1212, the barons, the clergy, the merchants, the yeomen, and the serfs held a Great Council. They demanded that John abolish these cruelties and stop this corruption. He met them at St. Albans Church in 1213 and promised to do so. Instead, he led his army to Normandy to fight the French. The French won and England lost Normandy.

This defeat made him most unpopular. The next time the barons met him was at Bury St. Edmunds Church in Suffolk. One by one they walked

down the aisle to the altar. There each took an oath that unless John kept his promises, they would declare war against him. . . .

At Easter time, 1215, they met him at Oxford. They had 2,000 armed knights. At first he tried to evade them, but they insisted he grant their demands. They had no faith in his spoken words, so demanded he write down his promises in a charter and sign it with the seal of the king.

John finally yielded and said, "Name the day and the place." They named June 15, 1215, in the meadows of Runnymede along the Thames River, 20 miles southwest of London near Windsor, the location of one of the king's castles.

all freedom. The Constitution of the United States, and of every state, guarantees that right to every American citizen.

Another right which Magna Charta granted was the right to have a speedy trial when accused of crime. Before Magna Charta, the king could keep people in jail without a trial as long as he desired. They could not get out of jail on a surety bond. They must stay there year after year if the king so decided. Magna Charta gave anyone accused of crime the right to go free on bond or have a speedy trial. Our Federal Constitution and all state constitutions guarantee this right also to every American citizen.

Another invaluable right which

of the principal causes of the Revolution.

After the Revolution they were determined that officials of our government who pass tax laws should be directly responsible to the people. So they provided that only Congress should levy and collect taxes and that all laws to raise revenue, that is, to tax the people, must originate in the House of Representatives. They provided that members of the House of Representatives should be elected every two years. If Congress raises taxes too high, the people can elect new members of the House within two years to repeal or change those taxes.

Probably the greatest right of all those granted in Magna Charta was the right of trial by jury. It meant that anybody accused of crime must be tried by 12 people of the community where the crime was committed. They called it trial by a jury of his peers.

Trial by Jury

Instead of judges appointed by the king deciding cases as the king wanted them decided, it provided 12 men of the community to listen to the evidence in a case and then decide it on the facts.

This plan had proved so satisfactory and so fair by the time of the Revolution that our forefathers wrote into the Constitution of the United States a provision that all crimes except impeachment shall be tried by a jury in the state where the crime is committed. . . .

Juries sometimes make mistakes, but after 700 years of experience it is generally agreed that the jury system is the best plan for securing justice that man has yet been able to devise. . . .

Magna Charta gave the churches of England the right to select their own clergy and to use their own money without interference from the king. This was the first step toward religious freedom in England, but it was many years before the people of England secured the right to belong to any church they might desire. They were required to follow the king's religion. . . .

After the Revolution (American), the desire for complete freedom of religion spread through all of the new states. This sentiment became so strong that the Constitution provided that no religious test shall ever be required to hold office in the United States, and, in the first amendment to the Constitution, forbids Congress to make any law interfering with religion. . . .

The first amendment provides also that Congress shall pass no law interfering with freedom of speech or freedom of the press. Such rights were unheard of in the days of King John. . . .

The basic difference between rights under Magna Charta and rights under the Constitution is that by Magna Charta the king granted the people certain rights and liberties, while by the Constitution the people forbid Congress or the President or the judges ever to take away certain rights and liberties which belong to them as citizens.

In Magna Charta the source of power was the king. He granted rights to the people.

In the Constitution the source of power is the people. They forbid their rulers ever to take away certain rights. . . .



Signing Magna Charta at Runnymede

That was the greatest day in all English history. The barons with their vassals, the merchants, the yeomen, and the serfs gathered by the thousands. On that early summer day, they forced this cruel and tyrannical king to sign the parchment that granted certain rights and liberties to Englishmen which the king could never take away. It has ever since been known as the great charter of human freedom. . . .

Magna Charta contained 63 articles, that is, 63 paragraphs of grants to the people. They are too long to repeat here. The one provision that may be said to sum up all the rest is:

"We (meaning the king) will not deny, delay or sell Justice to any man."

In carrying out this purpose, King John granted every Englishman the right to stay out of jail. Before Magna Charta the king arrested whomsoever he desired and threw them into jail. After Magna Charta, nobody in England would be arrested and put in jail except for violation of some law. . . .

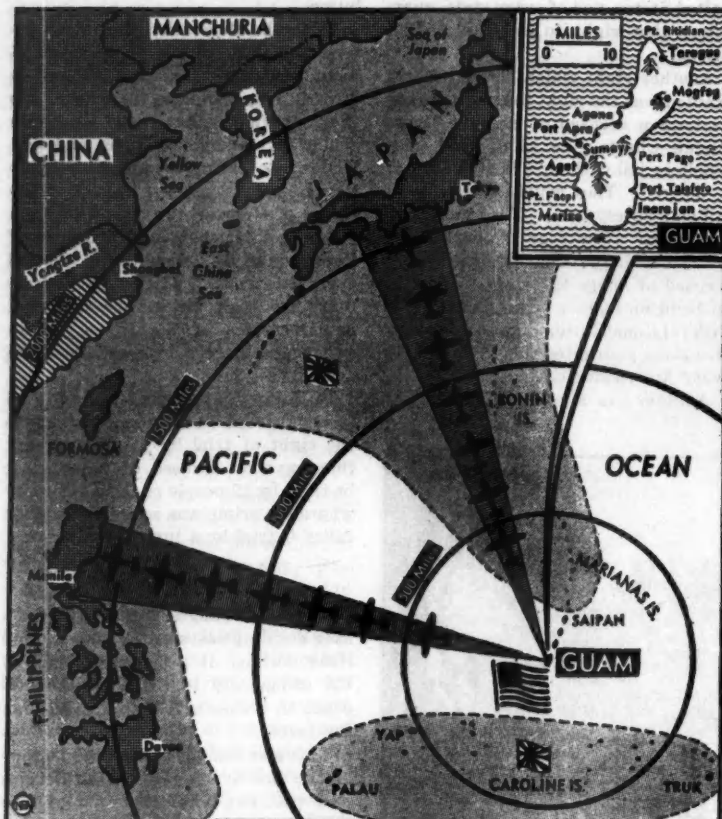
This right of individual liberty, this right to stay out of jail, so long as you obey the law, is the foundation of

Magna Charta granted and which our state and federal constitutions grant to all of us is the right of habeas corpus. "Habeas" is a Latin word meaning "you have," and "corpus" is another Latin word meaning "the body," so a writ of habeas corpus is an order to "have the body" of the accused, that is, to bring the prisoner into court to determine whether or not he shall be held longer in jail under the law. . . .

Another important right which Magna Charta granted was that the king should collect no taxes unless they were fixed by law or the Great Council approved them. The Great Council consisted of representatives of the church, the barons, the tradesmen, and the yeomen. This freed the English people from taxes levied by the king without regard to the rights of those who paid the taxes.

The American colonists were strongly opposed to paying taxes levied by the British government. They insisted that only the legislatures of the colonies had the right to levy taxes upon them. They called taxation by England "taxation without representation." That was one

The Story of the Week



AIRFIELDS in American hands on Guam, Tinian, and Saipan in the Marianas will launch U. S. bombers on raids against enemy-held areas. The above map shows distances from Guam to those areas.

War Fronts

The furious onrush of the war and the rapidly approaching breakdown of German military might makes it difficult at any given moment to assess the position of the Allies. On the eastern front the world is witnessing one of the most rapid and overwhelming offensives in military history—a drive which has broken the German defenses into scattered, disorderly retreat and which at one point has pushed Soviet troops 460 miles in only five weeks. It is generally agreed among competent observers that the European phase of the war must end soon, with estimates ranging from September to November.

As this paper goes to press Red troops have driven the Nazis out of the last corner of prewar Russia and are approaching Riga, the capital and important seaport of Latvia. This move threatens to trap upwards of a third of a million German troops in Estonia and Latvia. Farther south the Russians have made their first entry into the Reich proper by plunging deep into East Prussia, and the Germans are thus faced for the first time with the dread spectre of fighting on their own soil.

But the truly important military development on the eastern front last week was the attack on Warsaw. In reaching the Polish capital the Russians have crossed the Vistula River, last natural defense barrier on which the Nazis could rely. The capture of Warsaw is viewed by many as likely to be the deciding battle of the war—the Waterloo of the Hitler army. Warsaw, too, is of symbolic importance. The first Allied capital to fall into Nazi hands, this metropolis of a million and a quarter people is at the point of being the first such capital to be liberated.

In the west, also, the Nazis face disaster. Fighting free of the confinement of the Normandy peninsula, American armored forces have burst through the Nazi lines to reach the rolling plains that lead to Paris. Only in the south, in Italy, are the Germans able to hold at all, and even there the Allies are pushing stubbornly although slowly to reach the Gothic Line—a series of fortified positions running across the Apennines north of Pisa, Florence, and Rimini.

In the Far East, too, the Allies are making spectacular advances, marked by heavy Superfortress raids on Manchuria; naval attacks on the Japanese in Philippine waters, at Sabang just off the Indian Ocean coast of Sumatra, and at the enemy bases of Palau and Yap in the Carolines. Meanwhile American troops were rapidly forging ahead in both Guam and Tinian, driving the Japanese into the sea. It is clear to all that the Japanese war is rapidly coming to a head, with some observers estimating that our forces in the Pacific are more than half a



MOBILIZING FOR THE LAST STAND

year ahead of schedule. It now seems quite likely that the Far Eastern war will end sometime next year.

Wallace and the Future

Now that they know his name will not appear on the November ballot, both Republicans and Democrats are asking themselves what lies ahead for Vice-President Henry A. Wallace. Is he through politically or will a re-elected Roosevelt administration find a place for him?

Unlike Republican Wendell Willkie, Wallace did not forfeit his party's nomination by being defeated in an open test of strength at the polls. The showing he made at the convention indicates that he is highly popular with many Democratic voters. Nor does Wallace's case parallel that of John N. Garner, vice-president in the first two Roosevelt administrations. Where Garner opposed and obstructed his chief's policies, Wallace has always been their most loyal champion.

Because he is well liked in many parts of the country and because he has an unimpeachable record as a New Deal faithful, some believe Wallace will be given either a cabinet post or an ambassadorship in the event of a fourth term. He has been mentioned to head both the Department of Labor and the Department of Agriculture. His successful visits to Russia and China have made him an important possibility as ambassador to either of these countries, or even ambassador at large to both of them.

And there are other possibilities. A United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization is about to be launched on the basis of work done at the Hot Springs Food Conference. This organization will plan the long-range food and agricultural development of the entire world and submit advisory reports to the various United Nations governments. As a former Secretary of Agriculture and a practicing internationalist, Wallace is considered an ideal chairman in many quarters.

Some of Wallace's friends believe he should spend the next two years as a columnist or newspaper editor and then run for Congress in 1946. They point out that John Quincy Adams became a congressman after having served as President. A seat in the House or Senate, they feel, would best enable him to advance his program of liberalism while keeping him in the public eye for future elections. In the mind of his most ardent supporters is the idea that Wallace might be the Democratic Party's White House candidate in 1948.

German Morale

There were many evidences last week that the home front in Naziland was already cracking. Heavy censorship, as usual, attempted to conceal from the people the magnitude of defeat their armies were suffering. Such statements as these were common in the official communiques:

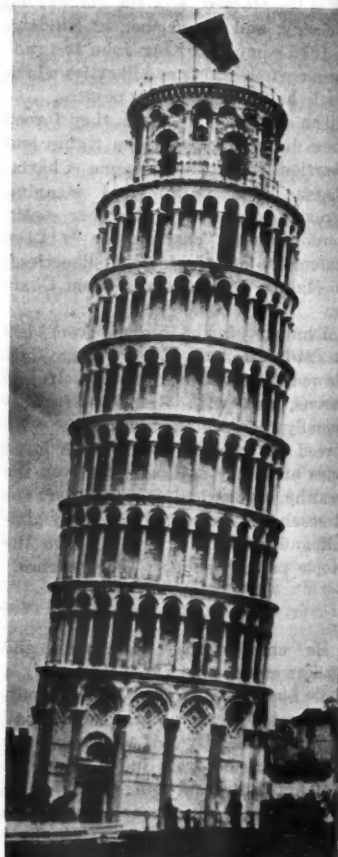
"Salients in our front line were withdrawn in some sectors in order to husband our forces. . . . In Galicia our troops, in accordance with orders received, disengaged themselves to new positions. . . . Between the Upper Bug and the Vistula, Soviet attacks were made with tanks and were repulsed in a bitter struggle. . . . On

the front between Dvinsk and the Gulf of Finland numerous heavy Soviet attacks were again broken up with heavy losses inflicted on the enemy."

But in spite of such attempts to conceal the facts, it was becoming all too clear to the German people last week that their fate was not far off. The attack on Hitler's life, the constant rumors of plot and counterplot, and the frantic attempts by Propaganda-Master Joseph Goebbels to cover over the whole affair must undoubtedly have shaken the people badly.

Russia and Poland

The Russian drive deep into Polish soil has served to highlight the bitter dispute between the Kremlin and the Polish Government-in-Exile. Not only has it brought closer the time when some final decision regarding that dispute must be made, but it has focused



German forces endangered Italy's famed Leaning Tower of Pisa by using it as an observation post and thus inviting the possibility of Allied attack on the landmark.

the attention of the world on the problem. In the settlement of this dispute may well lie the key to whether Russia can collaborate successfully with Britain and the United States in maintaining the peace of the world.

The fact that Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk has gone to Moscow to confer with Marshal Stalin gives some hope for encouragement, for it indicates that both men are willing to consider terms. Three things, at least, will be discussed by these two national leaders: (1) the problem of the Polish-Russian border; (2) the formation of a Polish government friendly to Russia; and (3) the amending of the Polish constitution (pushed through the Polish Parliament in 1935 by the Pilsudski dictatorship) if necessary to make the Polish government pro-Soviet.



BLOOD PLASMA for wounded American soldiers is unloaded near the fighting front in France

One thing which renders Mikolajczyk's task difficult is that Russia does not recognize the government he represents. The Kremlin does recognize, however, another provisional Polish government—the Polish Committee of National Liberation formed a few days ago under Moscow's sponsorship by a group of pro-Russian Poles in the liberated section of Poland. This provisional group has already accepted Moscow's demands on the frontier question—that the border be approximately the same as the Curzon Line, the border proposed by an Allied Supreme Council after the last war.

Such a solution would leave in Russian hands an area—Polish since the last war—of about 75,000 square miles and a prewar population of 13,000,000. Russia proposes that in return for this territory Poland be given a large section of German soil. The Polish government has hitherto rejected this proposal, and whether Mikolajczyk is now willing to make concessions remains to be seen.

Fish Repudiated

Political strategy is sometimes as much a problem of getting rid of supporters as of bringing them into the party camp. Thomas E. Dewey, Republican candidate for the presidency, recently showed how this works when he rejected the allegiance of New York Representative Hamilton Fish and in so doing won high praise from both sides of the partisan fence.

Attacking the New Deal, Representative Fish asserted that the majority of Jews stand behind President Roose-

velt. This prompted Dewey to recall that in the last congressional election he opposed the renomination and reelection of Fish and to reaffirm his opposition.

Dewey said: "Anyone who injects a racial or religious issue into a political campaign is guilty of a disgraceful, un-American act. I have fought that kind of thing all my life and always will, regardless of partisan considerations."

Observers regarded this statement as a strong indorsement of tolerance on Dewey's part. Many also felt that in repudiating Fish, Dewey was also officially denouncing the kind of extreme nationalist and isolationist policies for which Fish has always stood.

Aid for France

American aid to liberated France is rapidly passing the blueprint stage. A thousand tons of food are now being readied in England for shipment to Normandy next month. As more French soil is freed, the quantities of food sent in will be increased.

While the food is to be paid for by provisional French authorities, other forms of aid will soon reach France through Lend-Lease and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. These agencies contemplate sending in supplies and equipment for the rebuilding of French industry as well as the immediate relief of the war-stricken populace. All kinds of equipment for railroads, public utilities, and factories are needed in France and will be increasingly needed after the armistice.

Lend-Lease goods, of course, are designed for the prosecution of the war effort. But in the case of Russia, this principle has been broadly interpreted so that trucks, machinery, railroad cars, and tools have been acquired on Lend-Lease terms. Our government plans to do the same thing for France, and to continue such exports after the war on a long-term credit arrangement. Either the Export-Import Bank under the auspices of the Department of Commerce, or the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development proposed at the monetary conference would be used to facilitate this arrangement.

Primary Results

Recent Democratic preferential primaries in the South have been significant for several reasons. First of all, they have seen several veteran legislators displaced on the party ballot. Secondly, they have been the occasion of the first Negro voting on the basis

of the Supreme Court's decision that political parties cannot restrict their membership to white people. And thirdly, the recent primaries have shown the results of local work by the CIO Political Action Committee.

The most spectacular upset was that of South Carolina's Senator Ellison D. Smith who has served on Capitol Hill since 1909. "Cotton Ed" Smith, bitter critic of the New Deal, was defeated by pro-Roosevelt Governor Olin D. Johnston. In 1938, when President Roosevelt attempted to unseat Smith in his party purge, Johnston lost to Smith.

In Arkansas, Senator Hattie Caraway, only woman member of the senate, was defeated by Representative J. W. Fulbright, author of the Fulbright resolution pledging the nation to international cooperation. The principal Texas upset saw Representative Richard Kleberg, a member of the powerful King Ranch family, defeated by Captain John Lyle, who is now serving in the Army in Italy.

In both Texas and Arkansas, the Negro vote played a part in the outcome of the primary elections. One group of colored voters organized a precinct convention of its own in Houston—the first ever held in the South.



Representative Fulbright

In others, registered Negroes who had paid their poll taxes voted with white Democrats. Only in South Carolina did party officials defy the Supreme Court's ruling by refusing the ballot to qualified Negro voters.

Throughout the South, the Political Action Committee was instrumental in getting out the Negro vote. E. H. Harrison, who called the convention of colored Democrats in Houston is an official in a CIO local and a representative of the PAC.

SMILES

A three-day grand council in Berlin broke up with Hitler saying, "And one more thing, boys. Stop referring to the place in Berchtesgaden as a 'retreat'."—Detroit News

Two men pedaled their tandem bicycle up a very steep hill and stopped to rest at the top.

"Say," said one, "that was hard work. I didn't think we'd get here."

"Nor did I," said the other. "I was afraid we'd run backwards so I kept on the brake."

Visitor: "Billy, what are you going to be when you grow up?"

Billy: "Well, after I've been a lawyer a while to please Daddy and President for a while to please Mother, I'm going to be an aviator to please myself."

"I knew an artist once who painted a cobweb so realistically that the maid spent hours trying to brush it down."

"I don't believe it."

"Why not? It's a fact that artists

Civil Liberties

(Concluded from page 2)

liberties in the light of what has happened during the war. It is said that nations, such as France, which permitted "excessive" individual freedom, have been seriously weakened. Other democratic countries, including our own, have had dangerous Fifth Column movements.

Have we gone to extremes in protecting the rights of individuals, it is asked, when in certain cases it has been obvious that the exercise of such rights could easily endanger national welfare and security? Is it not as bad to go to extremes in permitting individuals to do or say what they please as it is to go to extremes in giving government power and authority over individuals?

Would it be unreasonable, continues the argument, for a democracy to permit individuals to say whatever they desire about their government or to work for any changes which they favor, so long as they do not support systems that are opposed to the ballot and to democracy itself? Should it be necessary, as it is now, for the government to have to prove not only that an individual has expressed himself as opposed to democracy but also that, either by his words or actions, he has definitely caused a situation which is dangerous to the nation? Such proof, it is pointed out, is usually impossible to obtain, and yet while it may not be shown that one individual, by talking against democracy, has produced a dangerous state of affairs, mere logic makes clear that the cumulative effect of a number of democracy-criticizing individuals may eventually be serious.

The American Civil Liberties Union and its supporters are sharply opposed to this point of view. They insist that, in the long run, it is far better and safer to permit people to say whatever they please about their government so long as it is not clearly evident that either their words or deeds create an immediate, "present" danger. When a democracy says to its people, "No, it's all right for you to criticize your government, but you can't say this, or you can't say that," then, it is not really a democracy, and such restrictions imposed on freedom of speech, press, and assembly always do far more harm than good.

Such is one of the big issues relating to civil liberties which has arisen from time to time throughout our history, and which has been brought to the fore again by the report of the American Civil Liberties Union. It is a question which should be carefully studied by the American people.

The American Observer

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Argentine Crisis Continues

(Concluded from page 1)

ministers met in Rio de Janeiro, and agreed to stand together against the Axis aggression.

According to Secretary Hull, Argentina failed to keep this promise. He did not speak in detail of recent Argentine political history. It will be remembered, however, that at the outbreak of the war, President Ortiz of Argentina was supposed to be favorable to the Allied cause, and this was generally believed to be the majority sentiment in his country. He was a sick man, however, unable to take active charge of affairs. Actual power was in the hands of Castillo. He succeeded to power upon the death of Ortiz. Castillo was more friendly to the Axis. Soon, however, Castillo was overthrown by a revolution which followed the pattern of fascist revolutions in Europe. A totalitarian regime was set up under General Ramirez. All pretense of maintaining a democratic government was cast aside, and the country was ruled as a fascist dictatorship. Freedom of press was abolished. The government was distinctly pro-Nazi in character.

Ramirez Overthrown

Last winter, however, under pressure of other American republics, the Ramirez government decided to break off diplomatic relations with Germany and Japan. Ten days later, Ramirez was overthrown, and General Farrell became President. Secretary Hull says that it was the purpose of this revolution to prevent Ramirez' non-recognition policy from going into effect.

The Secretary charges that the Farrell government did not enforce the non-recognition policy. He contends that the Argentine government permitted the Nazi diplomatic and consular officials to go about freely in Argentina and to establish an effective espionage system. These are other charges made by Secretary Hull:

The Farrell government suppressed newspapers favorable to the Allied cause, and gave assistance to those which carried on pro-Nazi propaganda. These pro-Axis papers were supplied with newsprint and were given official advertising. Assistance was given to Axis companies doing business in Argentina. They were given orders for public works and were helped in other ways. German spies were unmolested. A dictatorial government, built on the order of those maintained by the Axis, has been firmly established.

Foreign Minister Peluffo denies Secretary Hull's charges. He says that the Farrell government has suppressed Nazi espionage, that it has closed propaganda and news agencies, that it has eliminated clandestine radio stations, that it has extended to the Allies port privileges not given to the Axis, and that it has furnished needed raw materials to the Allies.

Despite the denials of Foreign Minister Peluffo, there seems little doubt that Argentina has been pro-Axis in policy throughout the war period. It is very doubtful whether a majority of the Argentines favor such a policy, but like the people of most other countries, they are entirely helpless in such matters. A government of a dictatorial character has assumed charge of things and rules by military force.

But why has the government adopted the pro-Axis line? Why is it standing out in opposition to the other American republics in support of the fascist cause?

It is hard to answer that question with complete assurance. The problem is a complex one, and no simple explanation will completely cover the ground. It seems fairly clear, however, that the clique which rules Argentina feels that the United States and Argentina are the outstanding rivals of the Western Hemisphere.

These Argentine fascists look forward to the day when Argentina may stand out as the leader of a united South America—of a great South-American confederation of independent states. They know that throughout South America there is much suspicion against the United States. They know that many of the South American republics have closer trade and cultural ties with Europe than with the United States. The South American countries may be induced to stand together independently of their great northern neighbor with Argentina as the leader. If this should happen, they think that Argentina may be a really great world power.

There is quite a little evidence to the effect that the Argentine fascists are building up a strong military force with the thought that, after the war, they may subjugate the more democratic Chile and Uruguay and make strong ties with the other South American countries. They think they will be in a better position to do this if, during the war period, they maintain an independent policy toward the United States. This will, they hope, make them the leaders of the movement of "South America for South Americans." It is probable that the government hopes when the time comes for Argentina to expand her influence and spread fascism, she will have the assistance of German Nazis, who will flee to Argentina if they lose the war in Europe.

What to Be Done?

Since it is quite well established that Argentina is acting in opposition to the United States and the United Nations, the important question is, What should be done about it? Secretary Hull's immediate suggestion is that the policy of refusing to recognize the Farrell government be continued. That policy is meeting with success. Only one American republic, Para-

guay, now has an ambassador in Buenos Aires. It will be difficult, though not necessarily impossible, for the Farrell regime to maintain itself if refused recognition by all of Argentina's neighbors.

A sterner policy would be one of economic sanctions. The American republics and the United Nations might refuse to trade with Argentina. This quite possibly would bring the Farrell regime to its knees. But such a policy would also hurt the United Nations, for they need some of Argentina's products, particularly beef and wheat. The British, especially, depend heavily upon these products.



Edelmiro Farrell, President of Argentina

The influence of Argentina would be nullified to a considerable extent if the United States should succeed in maintaining close and friendly relations with all the other American republics. The policy of isolating Argentina by drawing all her neighbors into the orbit of United States influence will undoubtedly be continued, but to succeed permanently it must be carried on with tact and wisdom.

News Quiz

1. What is the cause to which the American Civil Liberties Union is devoted?
2. In general, is the Union pleased or displeased with the state of affairs in the field of civil liberties at the present time?
3. Give several examples of progress pointed out by the Union in its recently published annual report.
4. What are some of the developments which the Union considers to be unfavorable?
5. What is the issue raised by the Union with respect to the sedition trial which is now going on in the nation's capital? Give the pros and cons.
6. Briefly relate some of the charges which Secretary of State Hull made against Argentina a little more than a week ago.
7. What action did Argentina take as a result of these charges?
8. How does Argentina defend her policies which have caused such a serious strain with the United States?
9. Why is Argentina inclined to be friendly with Germany and hostile to our country?
10. Why has our government hesitated to impose economic sanctions on Argentina?
11. With what success has our government met in urging other American republics to withhold recognition of the present Farrell regime in Argentina?
12. Who is Morgan Beatty?
13. What is one of the first big jobs to be undertaken in promoting air progress in this country after the war, according to the Civil Aeronautics Administration in the Department of Commerce?
14. What are some of the possibilities for the future of Henry A. Wallace?
15. Why has Premier Mikolajczyk gone to Russia?



ARGENTINA'S ECONOMY would suffer if the Allies should decide to employ economic weapons against her, such as ceasing to buy her meat and other leading exports.

NBC's Beatty

NBC's Morgan Beatty is one of the more versatile news analysts now broadcasting from Washington. A top-flight military commentator, he projects his conclusions on the course of the war as well in maps as in words. And besides his distinguished work in the field of foreign affairs, he has to his credit a long record of ace reporting on the domestic scene.

Beatty has been a journalist almost all his life. His career as a reporter began when he was still in high school and obtained a job on his home town paper in Arkansas. After that there were other newspaper jobs in nearby towns until, in 1927, he joined the Associated Press.

Almost his first AP assignment brought him prominence. He covered the disastrous Mississippi flood of 1927 in an airplane, flying 10 hours a day to reach all parts of the stricken area. The stories he wrote soon led his editors to send him out on a succession of other disaster stories—the Florida hurricane, the San Juan hurricane, and the New York State floods, to mention a few.

The outbreak of war in Europe saw Beatty turning his attention to foreign affairs. Soon he was AP's military expert, shining by virtue of both his war predictions and his excellent maps. Morgan Beatty's maps, which include the principal ones appearing over the AP credit line in the first years of the war, have proved to be of such lasting significance that they are now displayed in the Library of Congress.

Shortly after the United States entered the conflict, Beatty left the Associated Press to join NBC as Washington military analyst. For two years, his amazingly accurate predictions and analyses clarified the war picture for the nation's radio listeners. Then, at the beginning of last year, he went to London to report the condition of one of our great allies from within its borders.

Living in England, Beatty found himself among strong, battle-scarred people who realized that their nation stood in the gravest danger and were willing to follow their leaders through almost any hardship to save it. Talking to their politicians and statesmen, he found great clarity of purpose—a great determination to save the British Commonwealth and make it a strong federation of peoples in a secure world.

Morgan Beatty came back to the United States at the end of last summer. Since then, he has continued to demonstrate his versatility on the air. Besides giving more of his celebrated war predictions, he has broadcast the two political conventions of this year directly from Chicago.



Morgan Beatty



The United States will be dotted with large and small airports for postwar aviation.

Plans for America's Air Future

ONE of the most important things we all anticipate about the postwar world is that it will be an air-minded world—a world of high-speed transportation to the most distant points, of revolutionized shipping systems, and of widespread private pleasure flying. But before these things become realities there is much to be done.

Recognizing this fact, the Civil Aeronautics Administration in the Department of Commerce is laying the groundwork now for America's air future. As CAA experts see it, the first thing we need is a series of new airports, airparks, and other landing sites to take care of increased plane traffic. We have the facilities for making as many planes as we can use in the postwar world and we know that the open skies are their readymade highways, but just as railroads are useless without tracks and automobiles without roads, so planes cannot operate without prepared sites for taking off and landing.

At present, there are in the United States 286 approved stops for large transport planes. Of this number, 174 are in need of improvement. Counting small private fields and military installations, there are 3,086 landing fields in the country. More than half of them require enlargement and repair. Some 600 of the new and adequate installations are military air bases constructed in connection with CAA's \$400,000,000 program of airport expansion for the armed services.

And what are our needs? Some of the most ardently air-minded say the nation will eventually require 15,000 to 20,000 plane stops of all types. But looking only into the immediate future, the Civil Aeronautics Administration estimates that we should have 3,000 new private and commercial airports. To make their construction possible, the agency is now asking Congress for

a grant of a billion dollars—\$100,000,000 annually for a period of 10 years.

Although CAA anticipates considerable growth in the great air transport lines after the war, and consequently a need for new and improved large airports, its experts hold that the most significant air expansion of the postwar period will be in the field of private flying and smaller aviation enterprises. Small feeder transport lines will carry travelers from small cities and towns to the great air terminals. Business men and vacationists will be able to rent planes for special trips. And the number of people who own planes for sport will greatly increase.

For this reason, CAA contemplates spending the bulk of the fund it is now asking for the development of smaller fields called "airparks." The airpark, in CAA terminology, is the community version of the airport. Costing about \$10,000 to construct, it consists of a 2,000 foot runway, probably L- or T-shaped. Hangars and modest waiting and refreshment facilities complete it. The majority of airparks would accommodate feeder transport lines connecting with major airports as well as commercially rented and privately owned planes.

The CAA plan for both airparks and airports provides for cooperation between the federal government and state authorities. The Civil Aeronautics Administration would decide on locations for proposed airports and airparks—it has already designated 1,827 cities as appropriate airport sites—plan for construction with state aviation agencies, and contribute money up to half of the cost of operations. Supervision of the actual establishment would be on a joint basis.

In deciding which locations should have airports and airparks CAA will be guided by the social and economic status of each particular state. A large state with a dense population

and many industries will require more extensive air coverage than a small, sparsely populated one. Similarly, the amount of the federal contribution to the cost of construction will be conditioned by the state's particular needs.

This projected billion-dollar program is the first step in opening up our aviation future. Calling upon all communities to prepare for their own parts in the coming air age, Assistant Secretary of Commerce William Burden recently pointed out that the expense of constructing the scheduled new airports and airparks is small in comparison with the \$25,000,000,000 spent in the last 25 years on highways.

Once this initial stage is completed, still more extensive aviation facilities can be built, many of them under local authority. Besides airports and airparks, CAA contemplates the establishment of "flightstops" and "air harbors" throughout the country. The flightstop would be an intermediate landing strip in open country, probably adjoining a highway. An L-shaped runway, 1,800 feet by 300 feet in its dimensions, it would cost from \$6,000 to \$10,000 and would include only a small refreshment stand and self-service fuel station among its facilities. The air harbor would accommodate amphibious planes. Located in a quiet stretch of river, lake, or ocean water, it would vary in size, magnificence, and expense according to the location and the needs of the group to be served.

The Civil Aeronautics Administration looks upon its airport expansion program as an economic blessing in more than one way. Besides laying the groundwork for our future aviation development, the airport construction undertaken in the next few years will provide employment for many displaced war workers and thus ease the transition into a prosperous peacetime economy.

Points of View

What Authors and Editors Are Saying

(The ideas expressed in these columns should not be taken to represent the views of the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.)

Postwar Treatment of Japan

American scholars who are particularly familiar with problems of the Far East met in 51 small groups in scattered parts of the United States during the spring to discuss how the Allies should treat Japan after her defeat. Conclusions of the several groups were reported to the Universities Committee on Post-War International Problems, which has issued the following statement:

With only negligible exceptions the 51 Cooperating Groups agree that our post-war policy toward Japan should envisage from the outset her reorientation and ultimate readmission in good standing to the community of nations. We must



The Son of Heaven

teach her not only that aggression does not pay but that peaceful international collaboration does pay. We must convince her militarists and imperialists and racists that she has been thoroughly defeated and that any further attempts at aggression will be quickly and ruthlessly suppressed. But we must convince the people of Japan that the methods of democracy and respect for individual rights and international agreements will lead to acceptance of Japan by the other nations of the world as a cooperative member of a peaceful world order in which Japan and her people will have a place of political dignity and economic prosperity. How the reorientation of Japan can be achieved is the principal problem of the Pacific peace.

The Groups accept the point of view [that we should distinguish] between the Japanese authorities we will deal with in arranging for "unconditional surrender" and those with whom we will conclude the peace settlement. They agree that the latter should be representative of the democratic and peace-loving groups in Japan, but hold that it would be a mistake to burden such a government with the responsibility for "unconditional surrender." That responsibility should fall, as far as possible, on the military leaders who started the war. . . .

Many of the Groups are interested in the future of the Emperor and his dynasty. . . . Some favor Hirohito's abdication but the preservation of the dynasty. Others, in about equal numbers, would do away with the whole institution. Still others would keep Hirohito or Chichibu on the throne as a source of continuity and stability and would use him to appoint the leaders of the postwar government.

Naval Air Fight

When fighter planes from the U. S. Navy's Task Force 58 intercepted attacking carrier-based Japanese planes west of the Marianas in June, the greatest air battle in history took place. Aboard the task force flagship of Admiral Marc A. Mitscher was an American correspondent, Noel F. Busch, whose eyewitness account in the July 17 issue of *Life* is one of the

outstanding examples of battle reporting in this war. Here are two telling paragraphs from Mr. Busch's article:

According to the movies, fighter pilots in ready rooms spend a good part of their time gritting their teeth, giving each other keepsakes to take back to their families and nerving themselves for the supreme sacrifice. In fact nothing of this sort occurs. Between briefings the pilots sit sprawled out playing cribbage or a Navy variation of backgammon called acey-ducey, solving crossword puzzles or languidly discussing business or amatory matters. Far from regarding their profession as sacrificial, they view its hazards in rather the same way that steeplejacks, coal miners, or riveters presumably do, as occupational risks surmountable by skill and alertness. Nor is this admirably functional point of view wholly unjustified, as indicated by the fact that, in the battle of June 19, our carrier's total loss was one plane, whose pilot was rescued from the water.

During the biggest aerial battle in history, our ready rooms were emptier than usual but otherwise no different from other days. Coming back from strikes, the pilots usually stopped to have a drink of pineapple juice or a sandwich at the canteen just outside the door. Then they came in, took a look at the score chalked upon a blackboard and gave a brief version of their activities to one of the intelligence officers who were trying to keep track of what was going on outside. The fighter pilots, especially eager to run up their individual and squadron scores, were in a hurry to get back into the air. Indeed, from their attitude it would have been reasonable to guess that they were engaged not in a battle at all but in some especially fast and exciting game, like polo or hockey.

A Sign of the Times

An observant Washington correspondent, Joseph G. Harrison, recently sent this item to his paper, *The Christian Science Monitor*:

There's been a big change in front of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue—the United States Secret Service has taken down its little white fences. Ever since the hectic, uncertain days which followed Pearl Harbor more than two and one-half years ago, the sidewalk in front of the White House, or to use its occasional official designation "1600 Pennsylvania Avenue," has been shut off by low white wooden fences at each end of the block. Upon each fence was a not-to-be-missed sign telling you to cross the street and pass on the other side.

But today the fence was removed and it indicates the change which has come over Washington in regard to the war. The purpose of the fence was quite obviously to put a little more distance between the White House and any stray crank or foreign agent who might come along with hostile ideas about its occupants. As the days and months went by and no such menace appeared, the Secret Service began to breathe a bit more freely and now those suspicious watchdogs of the President's safety have re-



FOGGY WEATHER in the Aleutians, where these soldiers are stationed, is similar to the weather American soldiers will find if we invade the Japanese Kuriles

laxed to the point of once more permitting Washingtonians and visitors to use the White House sidewalk. . . .

The previous arrangement had its compensation. To the many out-of-town visitors, there was something altogether fitting in the fact that the President and the White House were being guarded so carefully. Being forced to cross the street and look at the White House from some 30 or 40 feet farther away only added that touch of mystery and magnitude which they had hoped to find in the Nation's capital. It is for this reason that one is inclined to question whether, purely as a morale-builder for out-of-towners, it mightn't have been better to leave the prohibiting fences in place.

But, seriously speaking, the change is a welcome one since it shows that the ultra-conservative Secret Service believes that the possibility of any attempt against the President's security, at least while he's in the White House, has been dissipated. This step is in line with the several reports from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, stating that sabotage in the United States has been at a minimum and that things are well under control.

The Barefoot Billion

The United Nations Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, discussed—among other things—the establishment of a "world development bank," which would extend loans to "backward" countries in order to enable them to establish more industries and so raise their standards of living. This proposal caught the imagination of *PM's* correspondent, I. F. Stone, who wrote this analysis:

The classical conception of world trade was based on the idea of the division of labor, an exchange between different regions with different products. This classical conception fairly reflected conditions in the 19th century when Britain was the great industrial power, and coal and iron were the basis of industry. That

picture has lost much of its validity since (1) the rise of new industrial countries in competition with Britain, (2) the substitution of oil and waterpower for coal, and (3) the possibilities opened up by organic chemistry for the production of plastics.

Under the 19th-century system, newer agricultural regions tended to concentrate on one or two crops for their livelihood. . . . Countries so dependent on a single crop must sell at any price in a period of stringency, and the effects tend to snowball from one country to another, affecting particularly our own country which produces every one of these crops. The whole world would benefit if the economies of these countries were more diversified and thus better able to stand economic strain.

These countries have been moving toward industrialization for some time. In the past two generations the percentage of capital goods, i.e., machinery and other industrial facilities, in the exports of England, Germany, and the U. S. A., has risen from one-fourth to more than one-half of all their exports. This trend offers a huge market for the capital goods industries of the older countries.

Will this industrialization create competing industries? It will. Will it therefore reduce our own markets? It will not. The more industrialized countries become the more they buy from each other. The world's barefoot billion, in India, China, and Latin America, provide a market as meager as their own livelihood.

North Pacific Weather

Weather has been an important factor in all operations of the present war, and nowhere has it been of greater importance than in the North Pacific. Heavy fogs aided the Japanese in their conquest of Kiska and Attu and they also played a helpful role in the American recapture of these Aleutian outposts. The same kind of weather prevails over the Kurile island chain, where Japan's northernmost bases now await American attack. In this area the weather definitely favors the side that attacks, explains Russell Annabel in a United Press feature recently published in the *Washington Daily News*. Says Mr. Annabel:

Weather is still the key to military developments in the North Pacific and now, for the first time in this sub-arctic war, the shroud-like fogs, the screaming winds, and the blinding sea blizzards of the northern ocean are weapons which we can use against the enemy.

During the early months of the war the North Pacific weather favored the Japs because they were on the offensive and could use the fogs and blizzards to screen movements. But when they lost the offensive, the weather became their enemy. Our surface task forces now follow the fog banks across the ocean to lie off the Kuriles and shoot up hangars, supply dumps, and gun positions.

Despite the fact that a large percentage of Jap bomber and fighter strength is based on Matsuwa, Paramushiro, and Shumushu, the enemy has been powerless to prevent shelling of his installations. The thick Kurile fog pins the Jap planes to the ground as effectively as a thousand Hellcats.



SIGHTSEEING CROWDS thronged near the White House only three years ago, but now they are kept off the grounds due to wartime restrictions

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